/162 cont./

512 I did them an injustice; at half-past seven a procession of seven comes around the corner in the fastest quickstep, one behind the other, the tribal sorceress at their head, all loaded with [382] mandioca roots. The old woman is carrying a bundle of them loose on her head, and behind her runs a young woman with a heavy back-basket; is it her husband who is following her? Likewise [354] bent under the load of a basket he walks forward, on his left hip a straddling boy whom he clasps heedlessly, as though he had hurriedly picked him up from the ground.

• 592 We visit the house of the professor. In the moderately light [350] room one at first distinguishes only a number of vertical and [252] horizontal posts, brown hammocks, the old woman and a younger one are sitting on the floor most diligently scraping mandioca with a shell, the naked legs buried in the parings.

[363] Two families have divided up in the space; the conjugal chambers are characterized by the fact that two hammocks are fastened, one above the other, to the same post. In the center there is an empty circle, and round about, /163/ radially, the "individual rooms" divided off, not by partitions, but merely by [364] the posts. The upper vault is blackened by smoke. Three or [251] four stones form the simple hearth. The flour is put into huge [252] pot vessels (up to 77 centimeters in diameter), the beijús are [323] roasted on flat, rimless bowls. The clay is blackish brown, the vessels are made by hand by the women.

352 We sit on small, low benches; they are rectangular, slightly concave, made out of dark-brown palm-wood, usually in octavo form, and not a decimeter high.

412 The stone axes, which are sticking in the wall (the longest [353] 24 centimeters), all have the same shape: a thick wooden cylinder, [135] offset at the bottom by a thinner handle. The stone is supposedly found farther downstream (1). /Illustration appears here./

1. Herr Prof. Arzruni of Aachen was kind enough to examine the material carefully and has identified it as diabase, a rock made up of augite, plagioclase, mica, chlorite, and

/165 cont./
609 mix for him -- whereas the boy of a Brazilian colonist, to whom I was called in Rosario, leaped out of bed and fled from me into the forest.

186 823 The old sibyl joined us this evening on the open plaza. She pointed to the west, "Bakaïrí"; to the south, "Bakaïrí!", to the north and east likewise "Bakaïrí!" and finally, describing a circle in the air, she summed up with proud satisfaction, "Bakaïrí!" In translation: "All this is subject to me, admit that I am fortunate."

132 14 Aug. 6:00 A.M.: dry. 11.7, wet. 10.5.
2:00 P.M.: dry. 34.9, wet. 20.0, clear, NE 1.
4:05 P.M.: I 740.8, II 730.0, dry. 34.0, hypsom. 98.825.
9:00 P.M.: dry. 18.0, wet. 17.1.

126 /166/ I was fortunately able to measure three women.
[124] [532] Antonio is very useless as an interpreter and causes more difficulties than the harmless people themselves. I also traded for a few maize-straw dolls, judging from the ease with which the transaction was made, there seemed to be no higher or in any sense a religious meaning attached to them.

• 592 We spent some time in Pauhaga's, or rather Chief Cavéco's House. It differed in nothing essential from that of the professor; there were no straw dolls.

139 252 We found inhame (Dioscorea, yams), which we greeted with joy. -- The fish are grilled on just such racks as we came across on the Batovy: they are exposed to the fire until they are encased in a thick charcoal crust; capybara leg, which tasted like fat fish, and monkey steak were also charred on the outside in this fashion. The crisp charcoal gives the insipid-tasting meat, which is not salted, an -- faute de mieux -- improved flavor. The [243] Bakaïrí are also familiar with a very medicinal tasting salt made from tree ashes, which, however, they do not seem to use in the preparation of food.

609 437 252 The soldiers, who were paying their farewell visit, were given generous quantities of beijús, puvas, and polvilho /manioc flour; see the glossary, p.172 / as presents. The grated and pounded mandioca is pressed through mats, the pulp is put into

/56 cont./

Bakaïrí, against such views about their characteristics as are found, typically expressed, in the following sentences by Oscar Peschel (Abhandlungen zur Erde- und Völkerkunde /Essays on Geography and Ethnology/, Leipzig, 1877, Vol. I, p. 421): "In no other continent on earth did one hear less happy laughter before 1492 than in America. The so-called red man remains the same in all climates, /57/ everywhere he is gloomy, silent, withdrawn, and intent on a certain dignified bearing."

These assertions are in no way applicable to the Bakaïrí; they were gay, talkative, and trustful, as I observed them in their association with one another and as they acted toward me alone. I shall not fail to give examples of this. In this village I laughed and heard laughter almost as often as under the coconut palms of Samoa and Tonga. It is true, their temperament is less vivacious and their entire view of life less sunny than among the children of the South Seas, the girls do not dance in the moonlight and the men do not sing on canoe trips, shyness and mistrust are more easily aroused, but all this is a long way from the sadness and reserve which, like the black horsehair and the Mongolian eyes, are summarily attributed to the Indian on the basis of appearances, as though there were but a single family between the Bering Strait and the Strait of Magellan.

The "village" was very small. It consisted of two large round houses, in each of which several families lived, and a small, empty, somewhat dilapidated oblong house, in which I took up my residence. Between the houses stretched the "tandra," an open place where a few racks stood for drying the white manioca flour spread out on mats, where in the center lay a long, slender log for sitting, and, toward the edge, there grew a few stalks of cotton, Orleans bushes (Bixa orellana), and Ricinus plants. Numerous fruit trees were planted all around, bakayova palms (Acrocomia), mangaba /fruit of the mangabeira/ (Hancornia speciosa), fruta de lobo (Solanum lycocarpum), and a sort of avenue of stately piki trees (Caryocar butyrosum). Toward the east a path led to the "harbor" across the nearby brook, toward

/260 cont./

114 informant. (3) Karl von den Steinen, on the other hand,

[113] 3. Capistrano de Abreu,
"Os Bacaerys /The Bacairi/."
Revista Brasileira. Year I.
Volumes 3 and 4. Rio de
Janeiro, 1895.

worked with several informants, and, what is more important in our opinion, personally visited Bakairí aldeas, (4) which

[113] 4. Karl von den Steinen,
Durch Central-Brasilien
/Through Central Brazil/.
Leipzig, 1886; Unter den
Naturvölkern Zentral-
Brasiliens /Among the Central
Brazilian Primitive Peoples/.
Berlin, 1894.

[127] Capistrano did not do. These documents, studied comparatively, permit us /261/ to support the conclusions we expect to reach on Bakairí beliefs and customs.

197 The Bakairí belong to the Karaib /Carib/ linguistic
361 family. Their old aldeas consisted of large communal houses,
[342] elliptoidal in form, around a square. In each house there
[392] lived from two to five families. In the center of the aldea
[344] there was a house, kadjeti, where the ceremonial adornments of the men were kept and where visitors were lodged. Access to the kadjeti was open not only to the men but to women and children as well. Attached to the kadjeti was a small
[346] house, its entrance turned to the rising sun, where the flutes,
534 buzzers or bull-roarer, and other sacred objects were kept.
[784] Access to this latter house was forbidden to women and children.

[P.90-A]

	Men	Men	Women	Women	Total
	Adult	Child	Adult	Child	
Rio Novo	6	16	19	20	61
Paranatinga	7	6	8	3	17
On Rio Batovi:					
First village	3	10	7	9	29
Second village	4	18	17	7	42
Third village	3	13	12	19	44
Fourth village	7	27	15	5	53
Total	30	90	81	66	227

By the time Max Schmidt visited the Bacairi in 1900-1901, the Bacairi settlement had diminished. On the Paranatinga he met 34 Bacairi and at Rio Novo, 60. On the Kuliseu River where Von den Steinen had visited four villages, Max Schmidt was able to find only two.

ECONOMY

SHELTER

While in the Xingú watershed the Bacairi lived in villages built on the banks of the Rio Kuliseu. A village (*utenáti*) consisted of three to eight houses (*ówiu*) built in a circle around a central plaza, *ánáwa*. The Bacairi house was a large communal building, oblong in shape, with rounded ends and with the roof thatching reaching to the ground. These large domelike buildings were occupied by three to five families.

In the center of every village there was a ceremonial or flute house (*kudaiti*) in which the men kept their ornaments and musical instruments and in which visitors were entertained. Men, women, and children are permitted to enter the *kudaiti*. Attached to the common house there was a smaller building, usually oriented in the direction of the rising sun, in which the sacred flutes were kept. Women were not permitted to enter this house, as they were not allowed to see the sacred flutes. The villages were connected by roads running along the river bank.

EQUIPMENT

In the center of each house there was a storage space (*ýirda*) where maize, manioc meal, and other foods were kept in gourd vessels (*kúlu*). Cooking was done in a small shed at the back of the house, but food was eaten indoors. Around the walls each family had its hammocks (*ewáku*) in which the people slept. Other furnishings of the house consisted of mats, baskets, clay pots,

4.Oberg E-6 (1947)1953 SPI Bacairi 577

[P.92-A]

beans, *ipid*; peanuts, *orenj*; sweetpotatoes, *makádo*; "cará," *nóni*; maize, *doji*; potatoes, *mdia*; cotton, *kodokíre*; urucú, *dunio*; tobacco, *tawej*; piqui fruit, *ipa*. Manioc, maize, and sweetpotatoes were the principal food crops. Cotton was grown for making hammocks and the various belts and strings used. Tobacco leaves, after being dried, were smoked by being rolled into cigars (*tepdki*). Tobacco seems to have had a ritual use, as the shamans smoked heavily before performing a rite.

Bitter manioc was shredded on a shredding board into which fish teeth or fine pieces of shell had been embedded. The pulp was squeezed in a piece of cotton cloth in order to remove the poisonous acids. The meal was then used for baking cakes. The fine powder or flour which settled at the bottom of the settling tub was also used for baking cakes after it was thoroughly dried. Maize was eaten boiled or roasted. Sweetpotatoes were roasted over coals. Maize meal was prepared and mixed with wild honey and water to make a nonalcoholic beverage. The Bacairi claim not to have used any form of alcoholic beverage.

Cultivated plots were located outside the village, each large household usually having a continuous area. Maize and many other crops were planted in September and October when the rains began. Sweet manioc and sweetpotatoes could be planted the year around, especially on river banks after the rivers went down following the rainy season. April was the harvest month and also the beginning of the ceremonial season.

ORGANIZATION OF LABOR

The occupants of the large communal houses usually worked together in the fields, went hunting or fishing together, and generally cooperated in economic activities. Families could work individually if they wished or did not need the help of others. It was the task of the men to burn and prepare the fields for planting. As the men loosened the soil with the digging stick women planted the seeds, slips, or pieces of stalk, as the case might be. Women and children thereafter took care of the weeding.

Division of labor by sex existed to a certain extent. Women wove mats (*anapis*) out of various fibers, and hammocks out of cotton yarn which was also spun by women. Men wove baskets. Both men and women made clay pots. Bacairi

[p.73-B]

There appears to be no evidence that the Bacairi had clans or moieties. The kinship nomenclature is of the bifurcate merging type with parallel kin merged with lineal kin and with separate terms for mother's brother and father's sister and for cross cousins. (See chart 3.) The kinship terms in ego's generation and in the children's generation are distinct for men and women. Beyond the bar prohibiting marriage between anyone called brother, sister, parent, or child, there were no special rules governing marriage. Cross-cousin marriage was common but not preferred. There were no residence rules or avoidances of the mother-in-law or father-in-law. As the Bacairi lived in large communal houses, marriages often took place between young people brought up in the same house. After marriage they would take over a section of the house as their private quarters. The Bacairi say that families could move to another house with the consent of the house elder. Although polygyny was permissible marriages were generally monogamous. The father and the father's brother had great authority and were highly respected. Younger brothers were not permitted to joke or play rough with their eldest brother. The mother's brother and father's sister were also respected but less than the eldest brother. The relationship between brothers and sisters was one of great respect, the informant saying that incest was unthinkable.

THE LIFE CYCLE

BIRTH (KRAHÉLLI)

Pregnancy (*ewá'ra*) was recognized as being caused by sexual intercourse. In advanced pregnancy a woman was not permitted to eat the flesh of such large animals as deer, capybara, or tapir. When the time of delivery drew near a portion of the house was screened off, where the woman gave birth and remained secluded until the normal menses began. The expectant mother was assisted by her mother and other female relatives, a shaman being called only in cases of difficult birth.

A woman gave birth in a squatting position, the midwife holding her under the arms and gently pressing her stomach. Sometimes the stomach and back of the woman were bathed with poultices made from boiled cotton leaves. It was the duty of the woman's mother to cut the umbilical cord